

[For information on Delaware acculturation, and its extent at different historic time periods, see category 116, pp. 79-128.]

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen 121
what has induced me to come forward with an historical 128
account of the Indians, after so many have written on
the same subject, will perhaps look for something more
extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind
which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his
expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have
not written to excite astonishment, but for the informa-
tion of those who are desirous of knowing the true his-
tory of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full
possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have
since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure
them, that I have not taken the information here com- [124]
municated from the writings of others, but from the
mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and
from my own observation of what I have witnessed while
living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted
other authors, and in some instances copied short passages
from their works, especially where I have thought it ne-
cessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements
of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, cus- 124
toms, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have 123
been deceived, since it is the result of personal know-
ledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed,
while residing among and near them, for more than
thirty years. I have however to remark, that this his-
tory, like other histories of former times, will not in 177
every respect comport with the character of the Indians
at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude—and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

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[101] It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Leni Lenape*." Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leaving
[Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
829 swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
609 "perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
whom?"—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
a white man or white people should happen to come
this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flint, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees: that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chestnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now become accus-
tomed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in-
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 609
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge- 177
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffalo; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a
cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like tur-
kies. They also make a distinction between a warrior
and a murderer, which, as they explain it, is not much
to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number
"of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove
"him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been
"known to return, and bring scalps home, which they
"had taken where they knew there was no danger,
"where no attack was expected and no opposition made.
"Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-
"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on
"the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg,
"and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our
"nation, who were all murdered by cowards. It was
"not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say
that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other
snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in

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very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

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them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white villains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waktemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place. 752

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title. 756
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* They call them *Doctols*, because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minisi or Monseys call them "Mödéu," which signifies "conjuror."

762 ready described,* was forcibly poured down his throat. He recovered after some time, but never was again the strong healthy man he had been before ; his wife however took warning from this desperate act, and behaved better ever after.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DRUNKENNESS.

• 177 IN treating of this subject, I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished, and which it is the object of this work to delineate, and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better. I am not one of those wild enthusiasts who would endeavour to persuade mankind that savage life is preferable to a state of civilisation ; but I leave it to every impartial person to decide, whether the condition of the healthy sober Indian, pursuing his game through forests and plains, is not far superior to that of the gangrened drunken white man, rioting in debauchery and vice ?

I have already before taken notice† of the assertion

* See ch. 29. p. 212.

† See ch. 28. p. 215.

which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them. 177

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits. 276

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York 233

* See ch. 2.

PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson. 101 177

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.¹ Kintetz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture... from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."² Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.³ Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.⁴ Delaware language has been described and analyzed,⁵ and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.⁶ Apart from Kintetz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place. 114 [121]

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank 122 060

¹Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.

²Kintetz, 1948, p. 15.

³Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.

⁴Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.

⁵C. F. Voegelin, 1948; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1948.

⁶Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

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222 soon as European utensils became available (early in the seventeenth century), maple sugar rapidly became a more important food. Honey was considered a delicacy when it could be obtained, but it was not an early food source since honey bees were not indigenous to the Delaware habitat.⁶⁶

252 Preparation of food. — Dried and green corn was prepared in a wide variety of ways. Most corn seems to have been dried, ground, and baked. Typically, "they make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread." William Penn said: "Their diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat."⁶⁷ Dried corn was placed in a wooden mortar made from a fire-hollowed log and ground with a wooden or stone pestle.⁶⁸ The meal was sifted through "a small basket, which they understand how to weave. . . ."⁶⁹ Harrington also mentioned the sifting of flour, saying that it was sifted "through sieve baskets of varying degrees of fineness."⁷⁰ The finest meal was used in the above-mentioned bread, and the coarser corn meal was used in porridge, or gruel.⁷¹ The white-flour corn was usually utilized in the bread, but other varieties were used in hominy and gruel (M.B., O.A., J.T.). Berries were often added to the bread, and meat, berries, beans, nuts, and pumpkins were sometimes added to the gruel.⁷² In later times "dumplings" were made by frying corn meal dough in grease, usually with added berries (O.A.). Hominy was prepared by boiling dried corn with ashes, which removed the husk. The hominy was washed repeatedly in a stream after it was cooked.⁷³

"Those stalks [of corn] which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane."⁷⁴ Green ears were roasted whole in ashes, grated and baked in the ashes, or boiled. The roots of water lily plants were peeled, cut into small chunks, and boiled (O.A.). Wild potatoes were prepared by boiling, skinning, and then mashing and were eaten with various kinds of "greens." The Delawares that live in the rural areas still gather and eat wild potatoes. An account of the preparation of maple sugar gives an ample description of this eighteenth-century trait:

"A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so

⁶⁶Zeisberger, 1885, I: 310.

⁶⁷De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-19; also see Pastorius, 1912, p. 428; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.

⁶⁸Penn, 1912, p. 232.

⁶⁹De Rastieres, 1909, p. 107; Lindstrom, 1925, p. 253.

⁷⁰De Rastieres, 1909, p. 107; De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

⁷¹Harrington, 1913, p. 221.

⁷²Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.

⁷³Lindstrom, 1925, p. 254; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.

⁷⁴Penn, 1912, p. 232; O. A., M. B.

⁷⁵De Rastieres, 1909, p. 107.

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No pottery was manufactured in

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Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares remember that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery. Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

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It has already been noted that the social organization of the Delawares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.³ After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.⁴

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

³Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)

⁴Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

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good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

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Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.²²⁴

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

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Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

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If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

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177 among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

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844 The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

553 If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

• [77] They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandon-wineek* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

THEORIES ON THE CAUSES OF DISEASE.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain 'maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Witapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.¹ The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Witapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

¹ Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—EDITOR.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor.

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

WILD VEGETABLE FOODS

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams.

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural-food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the

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196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut (*Apios tuberosa*), "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots
are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and
ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground
nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now
considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*), "sour." This plant, prepared much like
rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion (*Sp.?*). Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are
regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly
gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared
by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild
onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom (*Agaricus campestris*), "tripe form," is
fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in
spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present
in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early
spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of
other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant
tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or
mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are par-
boiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be
mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lambs quarters, mustard, dock,
and watercress.

ANIMAL FOODS

225 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The
latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the
forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits
must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the super-
naturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow them-
selves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they
can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before start-
ing out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should
dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyakung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found. 114

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuylkill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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[262]
For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

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According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn^{sketched} their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

"Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived. 13 [177]

The following description of the full ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

24	LENAPE
776 114 • 177 776	goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity. EVIL SPIRIT The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years. Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "maní'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine. But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain <i>maní'towúk</i>, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.
	INDIAN NOTES

THE FOUR WINDS	25
The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel¹¹ where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the <i>Devil</i>, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger¹² and Brainerd,¹³ although Holm¹⁴ seems to give contrary evidence. MANI'TOWŪK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or <i>mani'towūk</i>, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the <i>mani'towūk</i> of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and	776 114 177 ● 776 821 [173]
AND MONOGRAPHS	

SKELETON DANCE

183

hide stretched over poles. They do not use the same step in the dance, but gallop like buffaloes and bellow like them, also have horns on their heads and occasionally hook at each other. The dance is usually given before starting on a chase."

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IMPORTED CEREMONIES

SKELETON DANCE

The preceding ceremonies have all been, ostensibly at least, of native Lenape origin, but we now come to several whose outside origin is admitted by the Indians themselves. The most ancient of these is the "Human Skeleton Dance," mentioned by Adams.⁴⁰ He calls it a rite belonging to the Wolf clan or phratry of the Delawares, but the writer's informants say that it is not true Lenape at all, but a Nanticoke (One'tko) ceremony introduced among the Lenape by the survivors of that tribe who had joined forces with them. Adams' account, which is better than any the writer was able to obtain, is as follows:

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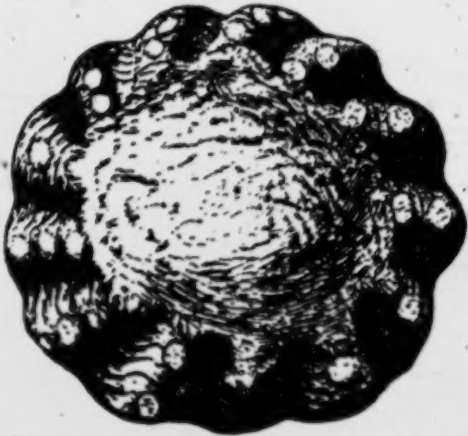
"*Human Skeleton Dance*.—Given only by the Wolf clan of the Delawares. A

AND MONOGRAPHS

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
 NM7 Delaware NM7
 Lenape

184	LENAPE
• 177 769 [773]	certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land. When a member of the Wolf clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of 12 days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by some one. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried. Traditions say that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860."
	INDIAN NOTES

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
 NM7 Delaware NM7
 Lenape

PEYOTE RITE	185
PEYOTE RITE One of the latest of introduced ceremonies, which was still much in favor with the Oklahoma Lenape when last visited by the writer, is the Peyote Rite, a cult  FIG. 19.—Peyote "Button." (Diameter, 1.9 in.) now widespread among the tribes of the Central West, introduced among this people by an Indian named John Wilson, who obtained it, they say, from the Caddo on Washita river about the year 1890 or 1892. During this ceremony re-	177 • 276 796^x
AND MONOGRAPHS	

186	LENAPE
● 177 276 796^x	markable visions are produced by eating the dried top of a small cactus, the <i>peyote</i> (fig. 19), for which the cult is named, and these visions, coupled with the moral teachings embodied in the ritual, make it very attractive to the Indian, who, on joining the cult, is often persuaded to discard entirely the ancient beliefs of his own people. The writer is acquainted with two principal forms of the rite, one involving native deities only, the other, almost entirely Christian in teaching and symbolism. It is this latter form which has been adopted by the Lenape, to whom the tipi, in which the ceremony is held, is as foreign an institution as the little cactus itself, brought in from southern Texas and Mexico. <i>Paraphernalia.</i>—For this ceremony the tipi is erected with the door to the east, and a complex series of symbols arranged inside, as shown in the smaller drawing, pl. ix. On the western side of the lodge is built a crescent-shaped mound, or "moon," of earth, packed hard, its horns turned toward the east, which they
	INDIAN NOTES

PEYOTE RITE	187
say represents the tomb where Christ was buried, and on the center of this is placed a large peyote, dampened and flattened (fig. 19), resting either on a bed of feathers or on the bare earth; and to the west of this again, sometimes a crucifix, as shown in the illustration. Between the points of the crescent is built the fire in a certain prescribed manner with overlapping sticks forming an angle pointing westward. Near the door lies another mound—a round one representing the sun. From the peyote resting on the embankment to the sun mound, directly through the middle of the fire, a line is drawn in the earth of the floor. This represents the "peyote road" along which the Peyote Spirit takes the devotee on a journey toward the sun, and also symbolizes the road to Heaven that Jesus made for the souls of men when He returned thither. West of the crescent shaped mound stands, when not in use, the highly decorated arrow or staff, frequently made in the form of a long cross, with a groove extending from	177 ● 276 382
AND MONOGRAPHS	

188	LENAPE
● 177 276 796[^] [534] [293] 534	end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. ix) a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own. <i>Officers.</i>—The only officers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. ix), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat. <i>Conduct of the Ceremony.</i>—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and
	INDIAN NOTES

PEYOTE RITE	189
body. Then the macerated peyote is passed, and each takes enough to make eight pellets about half an inch in diameter, of which some eat all, some only part, reserving some pellets to be eaten later. About this time the leader addresses the peyote and the fire, prays, and often delivers a regular sermon or moral lecture. He then takes the staff in his left hand, and sitting, or kneeling on one knee, he sings a certain number of peyote songs, which are a class to themselves, while the man to the left beats the drum, then passes the staff to the person on his right, himself taking the drum while this person sings, and so the staff travels round and round the lodge, each taking his turn at singing, while the devotees, men and women alike, keep their eyes fixed upon the fire or upon the peyote lying on the mound. As the night wears on the "medicine" begins to take effect, and the devotees see many strange visions, pictures, and brilliant-colored patterns. Often one may see the Peyote Spirit, in the form of an old	177 ● 276 796 ^x
AND MONOGRAPHS	

190	LENAPE
177 276 796^x	man, who takes his spirit on a wonderful journey along the "peyote road," eastward toward the sun. At daybreak they all file out of the tipi bearing their paraphernalia, as seen in pl. IX, b, and when the sun appears they raise their hands in salutation, and then those who are left standing (for some fall as if dead at the sight of the sun) "give thanks to the Great Father in Heaven." Those who fall at sunrise, they say, are the ones who visited the sun in their visions. All sleep, or at least rest, until about noon, when a feast is served, after which everyone tells what he or she saw while "on the peyote road." The Lenape variant of this ceremony, as related above, differs somewhat from that of other tribes practising the Christian form of the Peyote rite, but in all essentials it is almost identical. GHOST DANCE The Ghost dance was also introduced among the Lenape by an Indian named Wilson, about the same time, our infor-
	INDIAN NOTES

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
 NM7 Delaware NM7
 Lenape

GHOST DANCE	191
mants thought, as the Peyote rite, and, like it, probably from the Washita River region. Wilson would call a dance every now and then during his lifetime, at which the people appeared in their everyday dress, without such special costumes as were seen, for instance, at such functions among the Kiowa and the Arapaho. At these meetings the participants would dance round and round for a long time, with a sidewise step; to the sound of song and water-drum, sometimes for a considerable period without stopping. Occasionally one would fall and appear to faint, and when revived would claim to have visited Heaven in spirit while his body lay as if dead. When Wilson died, the cult, so far as the Delawares were concerned, perished with him. Such were the ceremonies surviving until recent times among the Lenape, from which have been omitted only the observances connected with the dead, shamanism, witchcraft, and war, all of which will be discussed in later papers.	177● 769 796^x [787]
AND MONOGRAPHS	

301 which some of them use to cover themselves with,
291 which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, every-
where sewed on with their money, and around the
edges which hang down, lightly fastened with
hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on
the ends of which they also have money strung.
Over their shoulders they have belts of money,
threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the sav-
ages grow up they go quite naked, the very way
they are born to this world, with the exception
of the money they carry on themselves, knowing
of no shame, and would not to this day hide their
privacy, if they were not corrupted¹² by the Chris-
tians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence
compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the
Christians, to cover themselves with something.

292 Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the
296 savages and some of the principal savages have
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"*Utiskidnde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be
ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakedness:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a
Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily
but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe,
(except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the
pattern of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and
naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill
they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a
modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from
their very birth. Their second nakedness is when their men
often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off
their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little
Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will
keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready
to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a
freedom from any wantonness, that I have never seen that wan-
tonness amongst them, as, (with grieve) I have heard of in
Europe." *Acry*, 106. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

CLOTHES, DECORATIONS AND ORNAMENTS 199

begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reach-²⁹²
ing to the knees; but they do not know enough¹⁷⁷
to let them be washed, but let them stay on un-²⁹⁹
washed as long as there is a single piece left.
Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats,
reaching to the knees, made of frieze for
the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one
side of the breast and back, red, the other side,
blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the
orphan children in Stockholm are made. These
[coats] the principal sachems bought from the
Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise,
when they want to be well dressed they wrap
around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of
the broad Dutch frieze,¹³ which they also buy from
the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor*
or laced shoes of deer skin,¹⁴ bordered and decor-
ated with their money, almost in the same manner
as the northern lace-shoe.¹⁵

The habit of the women is the same as that of³⁰²
the men, the only difference being in the adorn-
ment of the hair, in that the females braid their
hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

¹³ *Breda holländska frijset*.

¹⁴ A Lenape word (whose root is present in the various Algon-
kian dialects). It is found as *seppock*, *shipak*, etc., and came to
mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack*. Lindeström
added the Swedish plural -or (*sippackor*), as Swedish words end-
ing in *s* were usually feminine and took the plural in -or. See also
Campanius, *Cate.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 6d.
In Minal the word seems to have been *matchischipak* (*matchisin*,
moccasin (New England), etc., *moccasin*.) Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*,
71; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 171-2; Williams, *Key*, 107. The Indian
shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or
elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 11, 269.

¹⁵ *Norrländska snörpakor*. "Shoes" somewhat similar to the
Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern
Sweden.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1638 Sweden planted the first permanent colony on the banks of the Delaware River. Since that date there has been continuous contact between the Delaware Indians then residing there and the whites. The Delaware Indians today offer an opportunity to study the process of culture change through a period of three centuries of contact with another culture.

The term "culture change" embraces all aspects of culture change, regardless of the process or processes whereby the change was brought about, whether by indigenous evolution, stimulus-diffusion, contact on a small or a large scale, or by some other way.

Acculturation is one process by which culture change takes place; it is the approximation of the culture of one social group to that of another under conditions of continuous contact. This process admits of a two-way passage of influence and predicates no end result except that it be somewhere between the two original cultures. Diffusion of ideas, technical processes and the like between neighboring groups is properly an example of acculturation. Usually acculturation studies are concerned with the results of the process on only one tribe or group.

Assimilation is distinguished from acculturation on the basis of political control. It is a process of culture change with the political dominance of one group directing the process and usually resulting in the engulfing of the other group and the obliteration of its culture. However, there are instances in which it was the ruling group that was engulfed or assimilated. Assimilation is acculturation, then, with a predicated result: the obliteration of one of two groups in contact.

Diffusion as a process is distinguished from acculturation only by the absence of direct or continuous contact. As a matter of fact, diffusion within a group is responsible for the preservation of its culture; diffusion between groups is responsible for the spread of culture and hence the change or accretion of traits among the receiving groups. If the examples of the diffusion of

731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
 167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land
 belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786.
 In the latter year they moved to Pilgeruh near Pittsburgh, then
 to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families
 returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
 657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821
 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Govern-
 ment to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they
 were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had re-
 moved to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish
 Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had
 moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware
 sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the
 Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among
 the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the
 "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in
 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo
 and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated,
 while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments
 as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
 162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in
 a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and
 connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village com-
 posed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated
 as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New
 York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee
 was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas,
 about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on
 three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a
 slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

- 177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the
 Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

These may be characterized by relative size in the following 177 ●
chronological order.

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with gov- [657]
ernment officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities.
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian 648
War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly 177
hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect:

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Dela- [67]
ware whether by administrative action or otherwise.
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost 133
surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, 177
Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap-

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe have continued to the present day but were particularly close during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the
United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these 20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today. Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had in-¹⁴⁴
creased some three hundred in number.¹⁶¹

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered¹⁰¹
through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few⁴²³
of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the
allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold
when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were for-
tunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their⁴³⁴
fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the^[427]
houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous
than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized
by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and sub-^[427]
sist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their
gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.
There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish
them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also
reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do
for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware¹⁷⁷
maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions¹⁷⁴
of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the
offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the
clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the
entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been⁶⁶⁶
elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have⁶²²
an official representative to treat with the Federal Government
on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of
the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated
a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief
and the one getting the next highest number became assistant
chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who
was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has
been no recognized chief.

¹Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . . (Senate Reports, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.*

114 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the
 126 basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written
 128 sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four
 were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For
 convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and
 the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of
 obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight
 sources are found to form three groups and to represent three
 periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der
 Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively;
 the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder,
 whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered
 contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and
 the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and
 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the
 fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is
 usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods.
 As page references to citations from the accounts of the three
 manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have
 been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of
 uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from
 the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes ampli-
 fying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the exis-
 tence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in
 the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given
 to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

921 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astron-
 omy and mathematics that was not reported in historical ac-
 counts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding
 on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for
 some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the
 cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of
the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors,
it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract
appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The
period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system
are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be
the result of confusion on the part of the authors between
opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may
have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their
names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to
agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished
very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in
1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of
eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three
hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary
efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers
that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from
1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never
denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment
is given immediately after death, there is again complete
agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest
and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian
177 notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts other-
177 wise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national
794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known,
797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.¹ I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.²

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

¹See *pass.*, pp. 93-97.

²Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643
Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643
indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177
organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621
close to the following: The three divisions of the Delaware, 614
Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

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Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [17] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [17] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornatmentation was also according to individual preference. [301]

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. 302 alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. [773] said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account. 165

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a 721 large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in pre-historic times. The accounts of the first period are very vague [77] or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the 526 fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. [177] Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One 525 exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice:

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the [807] sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario," furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

"Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenape Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

526 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial
177 of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

[72] The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomteen* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [79] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomteen* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related
[796] to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

121 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their
128 ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by
128 sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an
● 177 understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

These changes are distributed in the various periods as follows: 15 in the second, 14 in the third, and 36 in the fourth. When these are broken down according to the type of change, that is, technological, sociological, and spiritual, the results are indecisive. This is largely due to the small number of elements and their selective nature. Another factor that distorts the picture is the length of time necessary for the completion of some of the changes. Several elements show that two or three periods were required for the complete acceptance of a change.

It has already been mentioned that this element list is the result of the questionnaire written by Cass in 1821. I repeat [194] it because inherent in the questions is the realization that the culture of the Indians had then changed considerably. Consequently many of the changes that had taken place prior to 1821 are not represented. The most important or at least the most numerous items ignored are the tools, utensils, and other articles of everyday use. Articles of this nature of native manufacture were the first things to be superseded by those of European manufacture. The material culture of the Indians was drastically changed by the first of our periods. This fact should be borne in mind when one considers the changes that occurred in the later periods. Another important factor is the larger number of elements covered by the reports of the later periods. The third and fourth periods deal with over twice as many elements as the first. Proper allowance for this condition for the purpose of comparison would be to halve the fourth-period changes. If this is done, the changes for each period are remarkably uniform: 15, 14, and 18.

Now if we recall the different types of contact outlined earlier for the history of the Delaware, we find little variation in the amount of change for each type. In the period before 1750 when contact was between communities of whites and Delaware, there was presumably a great change in material culture. Between 1750 and 1850 the whites with whom the Delaware had contact were mostly traders and missionaries. Increasing emigrant trains and white settlers in the neighborhood of their Kansas reservation created so much trouble that in 1867 the Delaware sold their

- 177 reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

[648
636] Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

- 177 otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of
• 771 one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, espe-
764 cially when it is the older people in the group that have charge
of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among
the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented
with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evi-
dence of having been marked with a wooden post even though
a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were en-
closed with stone or wood cribs.

177 I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change
121 of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quanti-
tatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chron-
ology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have oc-
curred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type
of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a
single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily
one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites
upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes
in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the
effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process
of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation
depending on the absence or presence of complete political
domination.

WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather 842 more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. *Number of Children*

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ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. *Age of marriage*

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly 582 got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated 128 by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant 764 relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; [177] anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, [761] because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might 776 restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

347. *Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear*

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W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. *Hair fastened behind the head*

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. *Average height*

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141 said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. *Constitution more rugged than that of whites*

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142 whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. *Decided upon by council or civil chiefs*

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ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other. [177]

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. *Notice of war given*

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being *pi'tai*. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.¹ The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.² It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.³ Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are *man'it'u*. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."⁴

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, *te'koneau'suwakan* literally "wilderness life."

¹ Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 190. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

² The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

³ It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term *pi'tai* may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, *pi'te*, Algonquin *pi'tai*.

⁴ Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day ⁷⁶
 intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest ⁵²
 and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various
 games (linalo'tin) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse
 racing (h'wta'me'laxtan, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl
 game (ma'ma'ndin, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut
 out of musale shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise,
 tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee
 beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are ^[77]
 checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it
 might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known
 moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.¹

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pig-⁷⁹⁶
 ment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anoint-³⁰²
 ment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the
 performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth
 night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images
 on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshippers themselves
 are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive
 an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the
 people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The
 proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares
 believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is
 Blood-root (*Sanguinaria canadensis*). Of this we hear occasionally
 in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east,
 Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much
 importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the
 root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the
 colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and,
 although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Okla-^[385]
 homa, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-
 red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe'kon.²

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (saka'xtai,^[322]
 "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn
 only when such associations are desired.³

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel
 Thomas (1698)⁴ tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their ^[764]
 faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted ^[323]

¹ To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

² The identity of the above term with *Sanguinaria* was ascertained during
 a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was
 found and named.

³ The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go
 wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been
 playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

⁴ Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West
 New Jersey, and Delaware*, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not
177 until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a
276 new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the
795 demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109-123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

178 meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem
276 to be merely following the general trend of White society.
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[562] Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an
outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by
177 many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House
178 Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares
276 would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful
715 whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

[154] . . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

182 The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature.
276 Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is
715 no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

Small buttons and

531 brooches ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the
capas on women's over-waists. These capas
were made to fall over the shoulders
covering the upper arm. The silver buttons
and brooches were arranged in various
patterns sometimes covering the entire cape
or collar. Several very old specimens are
now extant in private and museum col-
lections.

531 The use of Peyote¹ for ceremonial and
795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
the Delawares about 1880. With the
[298] growth of this religious creed a new
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[P. 26, A]

[450 (A)]

[Payment Day]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
 527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it
 was upon a side hill with very rough ground
 all around it. The only recommendation
 was the eight or ten houses which made up
 the settlement, and furnished shelter for
 [439] the goods of the traders, who are insepa-
 rable from all payments. The number pres-
 ent was large, just as many of the Delawares
 as could possibly leave their homes, with a
 single one behind in some cases to watch
 the premises. About 800 were present and
 some Shawnees from the opposite side and
 perhaps 100 white people, including trad-
 ers and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M.
 and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
 177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
 [527] sion that ever brings them together as a
 [657] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
 [439] previous years, and some of the present, in
 advance a few hours of the time of pay-
 ment, as the traders are eager to commence
 their work at once. In the first place the
 Delaware women have usually dropped the
 Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of
 the white female. I thought I saw a skirt
 upon an elderly woman, although it was
 covered up with a gown. Their dresses are
 of all colors, and some of them of rich mate-
 rials. A few were dressed in colored muslin
 with silk shawls, and looked quite becom-
 ingly, but the most of them were, strange to
 say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which
 were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk,
 some were black, these looked the best.
 Some were crimson and black, some fiery
 plaid; the most of them were in bright col-
 ors. Over these they wore silk shawls of
 every color and shade, most of them fringed.
 They were expensive silk shawls of good

[50(B)]

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materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

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The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites; and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

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[563]D
142D
[164]D
291D
[191]

The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
 622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
 623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the
 person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs
 meet in council and perform the ceremony
 of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made
 such by the Head Chief without consulting
 the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced
 as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came

342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
 they were living in bark houses. Now many

177 of them are living in frame houses two
 stories and 2½ stories high, some with a
 veranda in front the whole length, and they
 have good barns and outbuildings. Some of

231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100

422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons,
 and all kinds of farming implements. Their
 future prospects are certainly very flatter-
 ing if they push on as they have here. Their

648 women are interfered with a good deal by

563 the whites, and they are quick to marry

557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that
 as advancing. It would be so were their hus-
 bands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of \$50,000 per
 annum, the best timbered lands in the state,
 and sufficient of them to give them all large
 farms, there is no reason why they should
 not become both agriculturalists and re-
 spectable citizens of the state. When they

000 become wealthy farmers as some of them
 now are, their children will intermarry re-
 spectably with our white people, and thus
 the children will become respectable and,
 if educated, in the second and third gener-
 ations will become beautiful and attractive.
 This is to be the end of the Indian absorp-
 tion of a small portion, which will improve
 and toughen our race, and the residue run
 out or forced into the regions of the moun-
 tains.

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title: I
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The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamles and Potawatomes which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.

They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved. I
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The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology. I
[177]